

PEACE NEWS

FOR NON-VIOLENCE AND UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT

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SIXPENCE

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The 'deterrent' again

BRITAIN WITHOUT A POLICY

An Editorial

LORD HOME IS BRITAIN'S FOREIGN SECRETARY. WE NEED TO REMIND OURSELVES OF THIS BECAUSE UNTIL A FEW MONTHS AGO HE WAS AS UNKNOWN AS HIS DISARMAMENT POLICIES STILL ARE TODAY.

Since taking office he has contented himself in his public utterances with Cold War speeches in the Dulles-Stalin tradition—and little else.

Anti-Communism, however, is not a policy. Of course, it may be that his Lordship is merely a parrot with no say in policy-making, taking refuge in patriotism. But if so it comes rather poorly from him to criticise those who are thinking for themselves.

Follies

For this is what he has just done at the annual conference of the Scottish Unionist Association at Ayr. At the end of an all-too-typical Tory discussion on "defence," in which each speaker vied with the others in finding phrases to hide the realities of

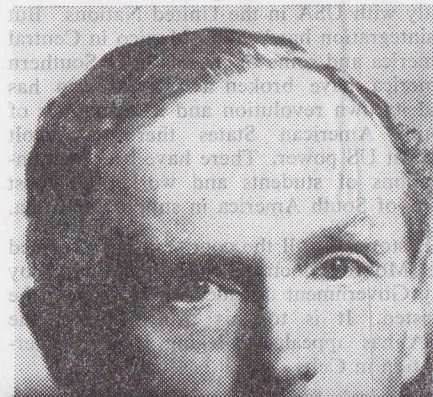
word "deterrent." Nuclear weapons were "horrible," but the "plain fact" was that their "purpose was to stop war, and they had "kept the peace."

It is quite true that many things have happened in recent years which in "conventional" days would unquestionably have meant world war. This has not developed because of the deterrent effect of modern weapons. But there is another side to the deterrent argument.

Weapons are not only a deterrent, but an incitement to others to pursue the arms race until it develops an uncontrollable momentum of its own. In the long run, consequently, they defeat their own purpose. In the end "the guns go off on their own" (if we're talking about remembering history).

Gamble

Nuclear weapons, moreover, are a stupendous gamble. No solution to our present predicament is infallible, but the



The speech by Frank Allaun, MP, in the House of Commons

on the Budget

page six

NEXT WEEK'S PEACE NEWS

The centenary of the birth of Rabin-drath Tagore, India's—and the world's—poet of peace, will be commemorated in *Peace News* next week.

R. R. Diwakar, the distinguished Indian scholar and writer, will recall the life of the man described by Gandhi as India's "Great Sentinel." Horace Alexander, the English Quaker who was closely associated with Nehru and Gandhi in the freedom struggle, writes of Tagore's impact on India and the nations of the West.

The issue will also contain a full report and pictures of the Committee of 100's demonstration this weekend, and Alan Lovell's monthly column on the cinema.

In a forthcoming issue Gerald Hol-tum will be writing about the meaning of the "ND" symbol which he de-signed for the Aldermaston March and which today is being used by national movements in Denmark, Holland, Ger-many, New Zealand, Norway and the USA.

And-Communism, however, is not a policy. Of course, it may be that his Lordship is merely a parrot with no say in policy-making, taking refuge in patriotism. But if so it comes rather poorly from him to criticise those who are thinking for themselves.

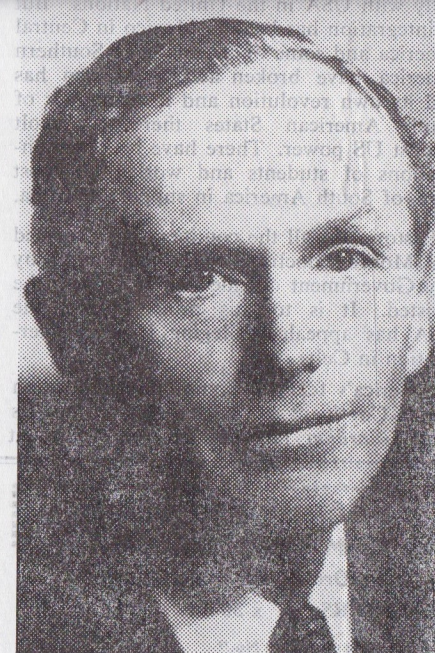
Follies

For this is what he has just done at the annual conference of the Scottish Unionist Association at Ayr. At the end of an all-too-typical Tory discussion on "defence," in which each speaker vied with the others in finding phrases to hide the realities of the situation, Lord Home wound up by going one better. He decided to warn the unilateralists and the young of the follies of their ways:

"If, as I believe, the young among the Holy Loch canoeists and Aldermaston marchers are protesting against the nuclear age in which a Bomb could end their prospects in a moment of time, I am with them. If they want to outlaw war, I am with them, too, passionately so, but I must ask them to remember some history."

The person who writes Lord Home's speeches then went on to get his facts wrong about the peace ballot in the Thirties. We don't propose to waste time setting out the facts again, because in terms of the development of warfare the Thirties are very ancient history indeed. What worries us far more is that Lord Home has clearly learned nothing from the last 15 years.

"This country," says the Foreign Secretary, "if it wants security, can never fall down on its military obligations." But if Lord Home could look at the Cold War with an independent mind he might see that



Lord Home

security is further away than ever—thanks to military commitments. And few people seriously believe that we shall be safer when our "military obligations" have taken the world to the next stage in the arms race and every nation from Germany to South Africa and Israel to Japan has its own stockpile of nuclear weapons.

His Lordship also reminded his audience discreetly that the latest Bombs, such as the Polaris missile system, are "second strike" weapons which can only be used for re-venge—after the British are all dead.

The excuse for all this was the magic

because of the deterrent effect of modern weapons. But there is another side to the deterrent argument.

Weapons are not only a deterrent, but an incitement to others to pursue the arms race until it develops an uncontrollable momen-tum of its own. In the long run, conse-quently, they defeat their own purpose. In the end "the guns go off on their own" (if we're talking about remembering history).

Gamble

Nuclear weapons, moreover, are a stupendous gamble. No solution to our present predicament is infallible, but the failure of Lord Home's methods will destroy our civilisation. There are other positive risks more worth taking.

We realise that the Foreign Secretary is His Master's Voice and that he is "only obeying orders" as Eichmann and Powers put it. But Lord Home has some questions to answer:

- What major arms race has not ended in war?
- What is he free to do to stop the spread of nuclear weapons?
- How does he propose to persuade the majority of neutral and uncommitted man-kind that Soviet Bombs are a menace but Western Bombs a blessing?
- How can he expect people to have con-fidence in multilateral disarmament when the West withdrew its proposals in the mid-Fifties as soon as the Russians accepted them?
- What can he do as Foreign Secretary tomorrow if there were troop mvments on the German frontier—except destroy all his fellow-countrymen?

PARLIAMENT SQUARE ASSEMBLY

April 29

3.15—6 p.m.

Committee of 100

Trafalgar Square rally 2-3 p.m. Speakers: Douglas Brewood, Bayard Rustin, Rev. Michael Scott



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MEETINGS

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BETTY AMBATIELOS REPORTS from Greece. Caxton Hall, Victoria St., Saturday, April 29, 6.30 p.m., preceded by Annual General Meeting of League for Democracy in Greece 4-6 p.m. Visitors welcome. Refreshments.

MANCHESTER: May 4, 7.30 p.m. Albert Hall, Peter Street. Public Meeting. Oliver Tambo and film "Come Back Africa." Tickets 2s. at door. Left Club and Anti-Apartheid Committee.

HOLIDAY ACCOMMODATION

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I want to be fair to America but . . .

By FENNER BROCKWAY, MP

Chairman of the

Movement for Colonial Freedom

THE reaction of the "dependent" world to events in Cuba has been profound. Already anti-American feeling was strong, but it was uneven.

There was an appreciation of the anti-colonial sentiment of the USA, sometimes reflected in votes at the United Nations. There were hopes in the new Kennedy administration.

But there was also suspicion of American economic and military imperialism. This suspicion has been hardened to conviction. America is now regarded as indubitably on the imperialist side.

What has happened in Cuba is confirmation of the emphasis which is now given in Africa and Asia to the danger of neo-colonialism. America's motives are economic and military. The Cuban revolution ended American economic domination of the island. Although the USA still possesses a large naval base, the President and the Pentagon fear that Cuba will become an outpost of the Communist bloc in the American continent.

SHOCK AND FEAR

The shock of the revolution, the fear of Communist penetration, are strengthened by US apprehension as to the influence of Cuba on Latin America. Central and South America used to be economic colonies of the USA. Their delegations voted obediently with USA in the United Nations. But disintegration has begun. Mexico in Central America and some of the States in Southern America have broken away. Mexico has had its own revolution and in a number of South American States there is revolt against US power. There have been demonstrations of students and workers in most parts of South America in support of Cuba.

Historically, all the continent has accepted the Monroe doctrine that intervention by any Government outside America would be resisted. It is to this principle that the USA has appealed, alleging Russian intervention in Cuba.

Kennedy's claim that the security of the USA is menaced by Russian influence in Cuba has no more moral authority than Mr. Khrushchev's claim that American influence in Turkey and Iran menace the security of Russia. In both cases the opposing bloc is on the doorstep.

The sensible policy to adopt in these circumstances is to rule out military intervention on both sides. Cuba accepts the aid of Communist States because of fear of USA. Turkey accepts the aid of America because of fear of Russia. Why not stop all arms aid from one Government to another? The danger is that the smaller nations would then intensify their own armaments. That could be restricted by the prohibition of capital or technical assistance from either of the blocs.

I want to be fair to America. Some of its passion against Communism is based on a sincere belief in personal liberties, human tolerance, and political democracy, all of which are submerged in totalitarian States, whether Communist, Fascist, racist or imperialist. If Cuba is without these freedoms, so is Spain, South Africa, the Rhodesias and Angola. What many Americans do not see is that economic dictatorship destroys human liberty and equality even more than political dictatorship.

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The Americans operated economic dictatorship in Cuba. They become affronted only when political dictatorship is practised. Those of us who are democratic socialists denounce the repressions of freedom of thought and political rights as strongly as do the Americans, but welcome what Cuba has done to establish social and economic emancipation.

A last thought, which may prove the most important of all. Most of Asia, except China, is uncommitted to either the American or Russian blocs. The great dynamic urge in Africa, reflected sometimes in the new States, sometimes in movements which are making the new States, is neutralist, identified neither with the West nor the East. But already the balance is against the West, historically because the colonialist Powers are West European, currently because the dihard White minorities which resist African equality are Western European.

WE MUST SAY NO

America's action in Cuba will tip the balance heavily to the Communist side. This may be its most serious effect.

Many of us do not want this, first because we believe in liberty and democracy, secondly, because we believe that a neutralist Africa and Asia can contribute decisively to the peace of the world.

If this situation is to be saved, we must overwhelmingly demonstrate our opposition to what America has done in Cuba.

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and John Holland, 1400, Bryn Tanet Guest House, Llan-santffraid, Montgomeryshire. Brochure.

Historically, all the continent has accepted the Monroe doctrine that intervention by any Government outside America would be resisted. It is to this principle that the USA has appealed, alleging Russian intervention in Cuba.

America's fear of Communist infiltration of the Continent can be understood, but, as *The Guardian* has pointed out, President

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DIARY

Send notices to arrive first post Monday. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, April 28

SMETHWICK, Staffs.: 7.45 p.m. Highfield School, Arden Rd., Public Brains Trust, "The Moral Approach to International Problems." For.

Friday, April 28—Sunday, April 30

RUGELEY, Staffs.: Spode House, Nr. Rugeley. "Defence, Security and Disarmament" conference. Speakers: Wayland Young, Leonard Beaton, Michael Ionides, Dr. James Henderson. Inclusive cost Friday supper to Sunday tea: 50s. Details: N.P.C., 29 Gt. James St., W.C.1 (CHA 3228, or U.N.A., 25 Charles St., W.1 (GRO 2784).

Saturday, April 29

LONDON, S.W.1: 3.15-6 p.m. Parliament Square. "Public Assembly." Assemble Trafalgar Square, 2 p.m. March to Parliament Square, 3 p.m. Committee of 100.

BIRMINGHAM: 10 a.m. onwards. Mass Peace News selling and leaflet distribution. Helpers report to Imperial Hotel, Temple Street.

SMETHWICK, Staffs.: 3 p.m.-6 p.m. St. Stephens Church Hall, Cambridge Rd. For Group Re-union for 25th Anniversary.

Sunday, April 30

LONDON, N.5: 3.30 p.m. 16 Aberdeen Rd., Universal Religion Pacifist Fellowship and Old Roman Catholics meeting. "Pacifism in the Nuclear Age"; Rev. G. P. T. Paget King. Visitors welcome.

Monday, May 1

BRIGHTON: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. H., Ship St. Films on World Hunger: "Let there be Bread." "The World is Rich." SoF.

LONDON, N.W.1: 7.30 p.m. Friends House, Euston Rd. Repeat performance by request "Noah," by Andre Obey. Silver collection. SoF.

RUGBY: 7.30 p.m. 57 Clifton Rd. "The Fellowship Party"; Albert Leaper. PPU.

Thursday, May 4

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd., Leytonstone. Eileen Fletcher: joint mtg. for PPU "Peace Fortnight."

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.45 p.m. Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq., W. Neneman: "Poland." Refreshments 7.15 p.m. SoF.

Friday, May 5

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-2 p.m. Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. Lunch-time talks: John N. Reedman, Director of UN Information Centre "News Commentary." SoF.

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Saturday, May 6

LONDON, N.W.1: 2.30 to 9.30 p.m. St. Pancras Town Hall. London Region CND Spring Fair. Adm. by ticket 1s.

LONDON, S.W.4: 3 p.m. Lecture Hall, Clapham Baths, Clapham, Manor St. (nr. Clapham North tube). John Bowyer: "World Government." Adm. free. Christian Socialist Movement.

Sunday, May 7

LONDON, W.C.1: 11 a.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq. "Rabindranath Tagore: A Centenary Tribute to the Man and his Message"; Vadikkan V. Alexander, B.A. South Place Ethical Soc.

Tuesday, May 9

LONDON, N.W.1: 7.30 p.m. Friends Ho., Euston Rd. Concert in aid of Friends service overseas. The Saffron Walden Choir and MacNaughton Quartet: works of Schubert, Palestrina and Bach. SoF.

Thursday, May 11

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd., Leytonstone. David Elliott: "19th Century French Painting." E. 10 and E. 11 PPU.

Saturday, May 13

ECCLES, Lancs.: 3-6 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Half Edge La. PFC Bring and Buy Sale. Proceeds in aid of Campaign Funds, Refreshments. PPU.

LONDON, W.1: 3 p.m. Wigmore Hall, Wigmore St. Recital by Wilfred Brown (Tenor) and John Williams (Guitar). Tickets may be obtained from Christian Action, 2 Amen Crt., E.C.4. (WELbeck 2141.)

Monday, May 15

BIRMINGHAM: 8 p.m. 221 Vicarage Rd., Kings Heath. Mtg. of Kings Heath and Cottesbridge PPU.

LONDON, S.W.1: 7.30 p.m. Caxton Hall, Victoria St. Peter Lief: "What are Body Poisons." London Natural Health Soc.

Every week!

SATURDAYS

LONDON, W.11: Golborne Rd., off Portobello Market, north end. Peace Bookstall in Market. 10 a.m.-5 p.m. Helpers for two-hour shifts are needed. Apply to the Secretary, BAY 2086, or Organiser, FLA 7906. Porchester PPU.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: 72 Oakley Sq., N.W.1. Week-end work camps take place whenever possible. "Phone EUS 3195. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS.

THURSDAYS

LONDON, E.11: 9 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. (near Green Man). E. 10 and E. 11 Group PPU

American-European March

SAN FRANCISCO TO MOSCOW:
HALF THE DISTANCE COVERED

A WEEK ago the transcontinental peace walkers were halfway to Moscow. With 3,300 miles completed of the 6,500 mile walk sponsored by the Committee for Non-violent Action, the three dozen marchers entered Cleveland, Ohio, on Sunday.

On the previous Thursday they had attended a rally at Oberlin College, arranged by the students, and, as at most halting places, held discussions with local groups and a press conference.

They crossed into Pennsylvania yesterday and tomorrow they will be in Pittsburgh. Thence, by way of Frederick, Maryland, Washington, DC, and Baltimore, they are due to arrive in New York on May 28.

The American walkers will fly, on June 1, to London, where they will be met at the airport by a representative delegation from nuclear disarmament and pacifist groups. While in London they will picket the Defence Ministry.

From London, together with English marchers, they will walk to Southampton, leaving Trafalgar Square on June 4, and going by way of Aldermaston as a world-wide symbol of opposition to nuclear weapons.

From Southampton on June 12 the

THE BLACK COUNTRY

A FORTNIGHT ago I referred to the red box because of its association with Budget Day. Now I refer to the Black Country because of its association with this year's Annual General Meeting. It is to Birmingham we will be going during the weekend of the 24th A.G.M. of the Peace Pledge Union. True, Birmingham, though the capital of the industrial Midlands, is only on the edge of the Black Country and would prefer to be associated with the green of leafy Warwickshire. This A.G.M. promises to be of special interest and importance. Although we have asked individual members to obtain their tickets in advance, it will still be possible to get a ticket and agenda at the door of the Connaught



selected walkers for the European continental march will sail from France and head through Belgium, West and East Germany, and Poland to Russia.

As they pass through the capital city of each country the marchers will picket each Defence headquarters, and they will also demonstrate outside the NATO headquarters in Paris, and outside the building in Warsaw where the Warsaw Pact was signed.

National committees are being set up in

Guns no cure
for poverty

URGING greater practical help to the under-developed areas of the world, Mr. Cyril Osborne, MP, told the House of Commons on April 14 that we should be prepared to lower our own standard of living.

He described this "as a matter of common justice, since nine-tenths of the world's people live at one-tenth of the UK standard, and our standard is maintained by the natural resources of the poorer countries."

Mr. Osborne's motion went on to warn "that absolute economic equality amongst the world's workers would provide a wage of less than £3 per week, and the British people cannot materially increase the poorer nations' standards of living if we ourselves continue to demand more pay for less work.

"We are spending £1,500,000,000 a year on defence. The greatest danger to our country will arise not from guns, however, but from the political philosophies which come from other parts of the world. If we would spend one quarter of what we are spending on defence in helping the under-

West European countries along the route and in adjoining countries, and contingents from these countries will join the marchers for specific periods. The European Office of the march hopes that individuals from the East European countries will feel able to associate themselves with the team.

All those who identify themselves with the march in Europe will be required to accept the policy of the march, which includes complete commitment to non-violence in word and deed, no matter what the provocation, and to civil disobedience should the team be prevented from entering any territory or prevented from stating their position.

The European organisers of the march are April Carter and Inge Oskarsson, who have their office at 87 Chancery Lane, London, W.C.2, and to whom applications to join the march and other offers of help should be made.

U.S. POLARIS
CHARGES

THE eight American defendants in the Ethan Allen submarine case, whose first indictments had been dismissed by Judge Robert Anderson, were re-indicted on April 4 by a federal grand jury at the request of US Attorney Hultgren.

The case concerns the Committee for Non-violent Action demonstration last November during which the Polaris submarine Ethan Allen was boarded. The eight defendants are Roger Aarons, Peter Friedlander, Bill Henry, Ed Leites, Donald Martin, Vic Richman, Robert Swann and Richard Zink.

Sentences

Bill Henry is already serving a one-year sentence for having boarded the Ethan Allen, and has been sentenced to another year, to be served concurrently with the first, for boarding the Polaris submarine George Washington on January 28. There

By Sybil Morrison

OUR
CHOICE

'This man blasphemeth,' we cried.

'Let him be crucified.'

This was our choice, for we agreed

Jesus must die, Barabas must be freed.'

THE LOADSTONE. Reginald Reynolds.

CUBA, Algeria, Congo, Laos, Angola; these names spell out one small three-letter word: War. All over the world people are using the method of killing their fellow human beings some driven to it by the evils of colonialism; others in order to secure what they want, or to defend what they think should be their own rights and property.

These peoples do not possess nuclear weapons, but they possess armies and aeroplanes, ammunition and arms; and they go to war. The people who are fighting are, no doubt, sincerely convinced that they kill and are killed in a good cause; naturally they would only engage in such strife if they believed so.

Yet there is something inherently and basically wrong in a cause which cannot persuade, but can only punish, which cannot convince but can only coerce. A dead man will never be persuaded or convinced, and the chances are that those bereaved will close their ears and their eyes to any future arguments, since sorrow could not be assuaged if the death of the beloved was proved to be in vain.

While hundreds of demonstrators are sitting down in Parliament Square and many are speaking (if they are allowed to) against the iniquity of possessing nuclear weapons, these terrible wars are going on; so long as they do go on it is possible that one or other of the two great Power blocs might decide to take sides and join in, and if there were no nuclear weapons probably there is nothing that could prevent this.

That distinctly horrifying fact has to be faced, and should be carefully examined.

Now I refer to the Black Country because of its association with this year's Annual General Meeting. It is to Birmingham we will be going during the weekend of the 24th A.G.M. of the Peace Pledge Union. True, Birmingham, though the capital of the industrial Midlands, is only on the edge of the Black Country and would prefer to be associated with the green of leafy Warwickshire. This A.G.M. promises to be of special interest and importance. Although we have asked individual members to obtain their tickets in advance, it will still be possible to get a ticket and agenda at the door of the Connaught Rooms, Imperial Hotel, for 2s. 6d. if you still wish to come.

Each year the A.G.M. marks a milestone in the journey of the PPU towards its goal. Although that may still seem to be far distant, there is no doubt that our progress is sure if slow, and who can say how near the goal may be? One thing is quite certain, that whatever may be our failures and disappointments, the existence of a pacifist movement is more important than ever.

The Chancellor tries to balance his budget; the Prime Minister speaks of a balance of terror. We do not talk in terms of a balance, but of overcoming evil by good, hatred and fear by love, and violence by non-violence.

Those who are present at A.G.M. will have another chance of expressing their confidence in the policy of total unilateral disarmament, but if you cannot be present, will you take a share by sending a gift to the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund?

STUART MORRIS,

General Secretary.

Our aim for the year: £1,750.

Amount received to date: £207.

Increase since last appeal: £40, but we are still behind.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another"

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send your pledge to PPU Headquarters
DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE
6 Endsleigh Street London, W.C.1



standard, and our standard is maintained by the natural resources of the poorer countries."

Mr. Osborne's motion went on to warn "that absolute economic equality amongst the world's workers would provide a wage of less than £3 per week, and the British people cannot materially increase the poorer nations' standards of living if we ourselves continue to demand more pay for less work.

"We are spending £1,500,000,000 a year on defence. The greatest danger to our country will arise not from guns, however, but from the political philosophies which come from other parts of the world. If we would spend one quarter of what we are spending on defence in helping the underdeveloped countries, our defences would be a great deal stronger."

On the other hand . . .

A BUY-BRITISH Arms Campaign is foreseen by Chapman Pincher of the *Daily Express*. Writing in the April 4 issue, Mr. Pincher says: "A sales drive to bring Britain a bigger share of the arms market abroad is to be mounted by the Government. The move follows the tough line taken by the Ministry of Defence in Washington last month.

"Then Mr. Harold Watkinson, the Minister, told the Americans that Britain wants a fairer share out of German and NATO contracts. Otherwise he is prepared to scrap Anglo-US interdependence.

"British arms . . . have out-performed their US counterparts in open competitions. But the Germans and Italians have been pressured into buying US models through ruthless undercutting on price, offers of free training facilities, and other promises.

"Now the new sales drive is to be aimed at every foreign buyer outside the Iron Curtain—but it will be concentrated on Germany."

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Idea Founded and Fostered by

Dr. W. S. FERNANDO.

Principal: UNIVERSAL COLLEGE,
PANADURA, CEYLON.

US Attorney Hultgren.

The case concerns the Committee for Non-violent Action demonstration last November during which the Polaris submarine Ethan Allen was boarded. The eight defendants are Roger Aarons, Peter Friedlander, Bill Henry, Ed Leites, Donald Martin, Vic Richman, Robert Swann and Richard Zink.

Sentences

Bill Henry is already serving a one-year sentence for having boarded the Ethan Allen, and has been sentenced to another year, to be served concurrently with the first, for boarding the Polaris submarine George Washington on January 28. There are also charges outstanding against Donald Martin.

CNVA's tentative plans for the summer include a combined action and training programme throughout New England, direct action in New London and Groton (Connecticut), extended to include Portsmouth, and the area along the Massachusetts-New Hampshire border where Minuteman missile bases are being installed.

SOPHY WALKER

THE peace movement will feel the loss of a staunch supporter in the recent death of Sophy Walker, of Cartmel, at the age of 90.

Confined to her room, as she was for many years, friends kept her informed of the happenings in the Grange Peace Group, of which she was a member, and of other interests close to her mind and heart.

She had a clear assessment of values in life, and witnessed to the end to the indestructibility of values that were eternal.

John Bullough writes of Sophy Walker as "a Lakeland stalwart. With the weapons of the spirit, she fought a good fight."

First Week in MAY. (37th Year)

arguments, since the sorrow could not be assuaged if the death of the beloved was proved to be in vain.

While hundreds of demonstrators are sitting down in Parliament Square and many are speaking (if they are allowed to) against the iniquity of possessing nuclear weapons, these terrible wars are going on; so long as they do go on it is possible that one or other of the two great Power blocs might decide to take sides and join in, and if there were no nuclear weapons probably there is nothing that could prevent this.

That distinctly horrifying fact has to be faced, and should be carefully examined. To admit its truth is by no means to admit that it is an argument for keeping nuclear weapons. Clearly, to rely upon the means of exterminating the human race as a way towards avoiding a major war is the last word in immorality; to depend upon the appalling evil of total destruction is the final admission of abandonment to evil.

Nuclear weapons might possibly be abolished by governments who are afraid of their use, but scarcely on moral grounds, since Governments have consistently accepted two moral standards; on the one hand they proclaim the sanctity of human life and demand death for the murderer; on the other they give legal sanction to the taking of human life in war.

If nuclear weapons were abolished for whatever reasons of expediency that were paramount at the moment, and any of these so-called "minor" wars were to develop into a major or global war, they would, without doubt, be manufactured again and with no particular time-lag. Scientists have the formula, and men cannot be deprived of their knowledge.

It is indisputable that there are many injustices and wrongs, many tensions and cruelties, and for thousands of years people have endeavoured to deal with such methods by war. So long as weapons are manufactured; so long as the age-old habit of "taking up arms" remains, then few people are likely to give consideration to any other method of settlement.

Yet if weapons were not available, if, in fact, common sense and moral values prevailed, a way to solve the problems would have to be found, and indeed would be found. Unfortunately, the nations, including those of Christendom, continue to shout for "Barabbas," who was a murderer. Good is crucified, and evil is pardoned.

The way of conciliation and conference, of moderation and mediation, of persuasion and pacification will come only with a change of heart and a change of direction; the sign-post says PACIFISM; the shout is for NO MORE WAR.

Is this the end of the liberal honeymoon?

THE worst thing about the Cuban crisis will probably turn out to be that it isn't over yet. The rebels have been repulsed initially, the President of the United States humiliated publicly and the Castro Government consolidated considerably. There is no doubt that the sides have been drawn up irrevocably.

Stewart Alsop reported in the *New York Herald Tribune* that on taking office President Kennedy remarked to an aide: "We can't go on living with this Castro cancer for ten years more." This week Max Freedman wrote from Washington in *The Guardian*:

"The Kennedy Administration does not intend to engage in any arguments with people in Britain or elsewhere who have doubts about Castro's status as a Communist agent. The policy of the United States is based on the fixed belief that the Castro Government is a willing tool of Communist power and penetration in Latin America.

"There will be no revision of that belief. It will continue to govern the assessments and actions of the Kennedy Administration as it watches events in Cuba."

There is little doubt that there will be more plotting, more invasions, more bloodshed and more cold war, if only for the simple reason that there is nothing to stop them. It is not a wild guess that Khrushchev is not over-anxious to become too closely involved, that the Castro régime will have to face far more serious invasions in future, and if it is destroyed Kennedy's reputation in nearly all the rest of the world will suffer the same fate.

A crime

So much for the future, but the present is bad enough. It is as well to ponder the enormity of the crime (not blunder, but

emerged policies of retaliation, harassment, severing of diplomatic relations, cutting off trade and finally military intervention. Castro was given every encouragement to seek trade and arms from the Soviet bloc. He did so, and the official US view of Cuba was painted for all time.

There have been too many reports, in the most conservative quarters, of aid and encouragement for the invaders by agencies of the US Government for them to be documented here. Suffice it to say that although Kennedy denied this to Khrushchev he did not attempt to refute the charge.

Washington has also put about the picture of millions of Cubans suffering under the yoke of Communism and waiting for the first opportunity to rise up against their oppressors. The next time people hear that story from Washington about other parts of the world they may be far less ready to believe it.

Miscalculation

It seems probable that the Central Intelligence Agency made this great miscalculation on behalf of the President precisely because it genuinely believed it. It was so preoccupied with the cold war and the wickedness of America's enemies that it genuinely held that Cubans were waiting to be delivered from their bondage.

Then after this military miscalculation Kennedy dug in his feet and started citing "our obligation" to "protect this hemisphere" when what he meant was his right to protect a rebellion against the legal Government of a sovereign state. It was not a pleasant sight for any of us to see Mr. Khrushchev of Budapest lecturing the United States on the evils of intervention in foreign states. And Kennedy's reply that he would not stand for such lectures merely underlined that he

put himself in a light that will not be forgotten for years to come.

In Britain an extraordinary cleavage has appeared in serious opinion. While the flag-waggers have lined up solidly with the United States Government, liberal opinion has been categorical in its rejection of Kennedy's position. *The Guardian* has been quite outspoken:

"President Kennedy's reply to Mr. Khrushchev's message on American intervention in Cuba will convince only those who want to be convinced. Others will see in it nothing but a rather shame-faced bravado. Few people have done more to speed the advance of Communism in Latin America than President Kennedy. . ."

The Observer has been only slightly less forthright. Before the invasion it stated:

"It is quite unprecedented that the United States Administration should permit the training in Florida of large numbers of foreign troops whose avowed aim is the overthrow of their country's Government. And it is tactless to allow United States citizens to train anti-Castro units in Guatemala, where American intervention in 1954 had a disastrous effect on hemisphere relations.

"Such aid and comfort were never given to the opponents of other Caribbean and Latin American dictators: why should an exception be made in the case of Castro, who with all his faults represents a genuine social revolution?"

"Washington's answer would no doubt be that Castro is advancing the Communist cause. But President Kennedy's present policy is not retarding it, and gives a misleading impression that he is opposed to social reform *per se*."

Analysis

Last Sunday *The Observer* returned to this theme:

NEW POLITICS

by

Christopher

Farley

estate at the head of this world-wide revolution."

"The trouble with this picture is that it is quite unrecognisable to anyone outside the United States. To the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America the United States is not a revolutionary Power, but—although Americans can never believe this—the greatest and most powerful fulfilment of Western imperialism. To them, Castro is not a Communist dictator, but the heroic champion of an oppressed people, or (at worst) a rather muddled man who has been forced to rely on Russian aid because of American hostility."

The radicals

One does not have to accept unreservedly the liberal analysis to see the value of these statements. As the century proceeds it becomes increasingly apparent that liberalism has no answer to some of our most pressing problems. But it is out of the liberal ranks that we shall build a new movement with a new analysis.

And where are the liberals in the United States? Decimated by McCarthyism, they are almost non-existent. One of the greatest tragedies of recent years has been the lack of a new liberal movement on foreign policy which can stand up to McCarthyite pressures.

The smaller band of radicals—and by these I mean those who have identified mass violence and oppression as man's greatest enemy and who have personally committed themselves against them—have adopted positions on US-Cuban relations of which pacifist movements in some other countries could be justifiably proud. But many of the liberals were soon on the Kennedy bandwagon before the election

There is little doubt that there will be more plotting, more invasions, more bloodshed and more cold war, if only for the simple reason that there is nothing to stop them. It is not a wild guess that Khrushchev is not over-anxious to become too closely involved, that the Castro régime will have to face far more serious invasions in future, and if it is destroyed Kennedy's reputation in nearly all the rest of the world will suffer the same fate.

A crime

So much for the future, but the present is bad enough. It is as well to ponder the enormity of the crime (not blunder, but *crime*) that Kennedy has perpetrated. It must be stated at the outset that the character of the Castro revolution has very little bearing on Kennedy's record. Liberals and radicals may legitimately vary in their assessment of the nature and quality of the Castro régime, but it is difficult to see how they can deny the following facts.

The United States has a long record of support for the previous Batista dictatorship and control of the island through big business. There appears to have been little realisation in official circles in Washington of what this meant to the Cuban people; still less of the radically new policy that the coming of Castro would demand.

There was no new policy. Instead there

because it genuinely believed it. It was so preoccupied with the cold war and the wickedness of America's enemies that it genuinely held that Cubans were waiting to be delivered from their bondage.

Then after this military miscalculation Kennedy dug in his feet and started citing "our obligation" to "protect this hemisphere" when what he meant was his right to protect a rebellion against the legal Government of a sovereign state. It was not a pleasant sight for any of us to see Mr. Khrushchev of Budapest lecturing the United States on the evils of intervention in foreign states. And Kennedy's reply that he would not stand for such lectures merely underlined that he too could play the same game.

What the effect of all this has already been on Latin America and the rest of the world is not difficult to imagine. Fenner Brockway discusses this in an article on page two of this issue. It is probable that the Kennedy Administration has revealed

"Such aid and comfort were never given to the opponents of other Caribbean and Latin American dictators: why should an exception be made in the case of Castro, who with all his faults represents a genuine social revolution?"

"Washington's answer would no doubt be that Castro is advancing the Communist cause. But President Kennedy's present policy is not retarding it, and gives a misleading impression that he is opposed to social reform *per se*."

Analysis

Last Sunday *The Observer* returned to this theme:

"It is part of President Kennedy's idealism, as his speeches show, that he sees himself as the leader of the forces of freedom everywhere. To him the Americans are still the vanguard of liberty who 'have allowed the Communists to evict us from our rightful

And where are the liberals in the United States? Decimated by McCarthyism, they are almost non-existent. One of the greatest tragedies of recent years has been the lack of a new liberal movement on foreign policy which can stand up to McCarthyite pressures.

The smaller band of radicals—and by these I mean those who have identified mass violence and oppression as man's greatest enemy and who have personally committed themselves against them—have adopted positions on US-Cuban relations of which pacifist movements in some other countries could be justifiably proud. But many of the liberals were soon on the Kennedy bandwagon before the election last year and they have to decide if this is where they part company. My guess is that for many it is not. The stampede to line up behind the Administration is too strong in the present crisis. But at least it will sort out the dissenters, and that never does us any harm.

The Generals' crime in Algeria

NO one can be indifferent to the French Generals' insurrection in Algeria, although its quick collapse under President de Gaulle's determined counter measures shows how futile an enterprise the whole thing has been—not much above the level of a school-boy's hair-brained venture.

If General Challe's and his associates' coup were to have succeeded to even a moderate extent, a disastrous extension and intensification of the struggle in Algeria between the FLN forces and the champions of the colons would have followed immediately through increased participation by Tunis, Morocco and other sympathisers with the Algerians.

★

There would soon have been chaos and civil war in France, apart from the worldwide complications inseparable from such conditions; and owing to the fact of this crisis coinciding with the present heightened tension between the United States and the Soviets, the world outlook would have become decidedly bleak.

Facts as obvious as these stamp the insurrection as sheer lunacy. Yet there must be an explanation of the Generals' way of reasoning. Their broadcasts disposed of the idea that their aim could have been a colon-governed *Algérie Française* divorced from France. This would not only have been con-

By

ROY SHERWOOD

tradictory to the contention that Algeria and France "are one," which has always been the basis of their reactionary faith; it would also have meant forgetfulness of the fact that such an Algeria would not be a viable proposition.

The only plausible guess at what must have been in their minds is that they must have made the same mistake that Washington made about Cuba: to have imagined that people all over metropolitan France would revolt against de Gaulle, as the CIA imagined that the Cubans would at once side with the anti-Castro invaders.

It is uncertain at present how many of

the leaders may escape, as Salan, Lagailarde and Ortiz did in their time. The poor rank-and-file, who were placed in the impossible position of having to disobey either local commanders or the government in Paris, will remain—to bear the consequences of the Generals' treason, or to embarrass de Gaulle by an almost compulsory amnesty.

Another possibility, of course, is that the leaders may have to face court-martial judgment, which in the nature of the case can hardly fail to mean less than the death sentence. France may be united behind de Gaulle, but she is certainly not so united behind him that such sentences would not give rise to fierce dissensions and internal troubles.

So, whether looked upon from the viewpoint of the Algerian Muslim population, from that of the soldiers under the revolting Generals' command, from the average French citizen's or from that of all those concerned with world peace, the crime of the insurgent French Generals is unforgivable, no matter how sincerely they may have believed themselves to be pure patriots.

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Countering violence

WHAT is the proper action for pacifists to take when being raided? I write of experiences we have had at the Holy Loch, partly because they may prove useful to others, but more because we would be glad of suggestions and criticisms.

I seem to remember similar happenings being described relating to our American friends in the early days of their actions against Polaris, but their problems seemed somewhat remote from British conditions, largely because there is no semi-mass organisation like CND in the States, and therefore hostility could afford to be more open and above board.

Let us start with the raid on our camp, in which I lost my beard. It was organised among local people by two elderly persons, though the sixteen or so involved were mostly aged between 18 and 20. I saw them clearly and recognised many of them.

Some well-wishers, who do not fully comprehend our non-violent attitude, complained to the police. I was asked three times by the police to prosecute.

I do not think I need say why we did not prosecute, quite apart from the fact that we all here agree that a pacifist should not use the police or other coercive powers of the State. Surely a group engaged in a series of acts of civil disobedience cannot call on the authorities to protect them in the intervals.

Since then, though most of the original raiders seem to have decided that they had done enough, some of the youths involved naturally could not see any reason to stop having once started, and so we have had a spate of canoes being slashed and holes bored in the dinghies. Even one canoe and one dinghy taken away, though the canoe has since been recovered.

We have tried to talk to these night marauders, and sometimes have succeeded

in doing so, but without apparent effect. One night Gordon Collins narrowly escaped drowning when he quickly put out in a canoe in the dark. Fortunately the holes slashed were large, and the canoe sank while he was still within his own depth.

My experience one night when Gordon Collins and I were watching for a submarine, and heard a marauder in the bushes, prejudices me against keeping a watch. Neither of us was emotionally non-violent while looking for the man, though we had every intention of talking to him in a sane and non-violent manner.

Ruth Townsend thinks we should do nothing, and just leave everything open to be slashed. Ideally this is no doubt right. Unfortunately we could not carry on our campaign if all our boats were always out of action, and we cannot afford indefinitely to go on repairing. The police know who is doing it, and know that we know, but have agreed not to interfere.

It is a simple difficulty, but what should we do? I think that it is worth pacifist consideration.—**LAURENS OTTER, Strone P.O., Dunoon.**

Tax refusal

I DO not agree with your correspondent, R. M. Clarke, of Devon, that the refusal to pay that amount of income tax which goes to the provision of armaments will have more effect on the Government than the protest made by the Aldermaston marchers.

All taxes, both direct and indirect, are received by the Exchequer as income and not earmarked for any particular use. The result of non-payment of part of the re-

quired tax will mean that the Exchequer will have less income.

The Government putting defence as the first charge on the Exchequer will therefore take the required sum from the income received. The balance of income will not then be sufficient to meet the budgeted needs, and not armaments but Education and the Social Services will be restricted.

Until we have convinced sufficient numbers of our fellowmen of the need for total disarmament and until we have returned the right people to represent us in Parliament provision will be made to meet the demand for armaments.—**NORA PAGE, 23 Kenmare Gardens, London, N.13.**

'The meaning of unilateralism'

I'M sorry Christopher Farley still does not seem to have grasped the point I thought I had made clear. Let me try again. CND is sometimes accused (by those who want to smear it as Communist-inspired) of wanting to see Britain and USA without the Bomb while Russia still has it; in other words, of thinking British and American bombs are bad but Russian bombs are good.

What Canon Collins wanted to say was that this is not the policy of the Campaign (although it may be that of the Communist Party). We think the Bomb is bad, who ever has it, and we would like every country which has it to abandon it, if possible multilaterally, but if necessary unilaterally.

But the British Campaign naturally feels

treason trial judgment, in which all the accused were discharged, the present common law concept of treason based on Roman-Dutch principles is obsolete in South Africa.

It should, they say, be replaced by a new statutory definition aimed at safeguarding the security of the State as now constituted under white rule if threatened by systematic attempts to establish a "black regime."

★
US Defence contractors spend an estimated \$500,000,000 a year on advertising

the duty of urging this policy mainly on its own Government, since

1. It is the only one we can normally get at.
2. We covet for our own country the honour of being the first to take this step.
3. There are a number of political and strategic considerations that make renunciation of nuclear weapons particularly appropriate to Britain.
4. Our chances of success are therefore proportionately higher than they would be with other Governments.

I trust the desired clarification has now been supplied.—**D. MARTIN DAKIN, 61 Suttons Lane, Hornchurch, Essex.**

Christopher Farley writes: If the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is recommending unilateralism to all Powers (which was apparently denied in Canon Collins' letter to *The Times* last November) it must say so unequivocally and be prepared to admit the possible consequences; that this could leave Britain and the USA without nuclear weapons while the Soviet Union retained them.

Civil disobedience

THE mass civil disobedience organised by the Committee of 100 is wrongly named. No one should be expected to obey in the dark, and one must first obey one's conscience. What these people are attempting to do is bring light to the public where light is lacking. They demonstrate their own inner light, displayed in a spirit of real democracy, while rulers just block the way.

I appreciate the methods of non-violent resistance so far employed by the Committee, and the pacifist in me can back them. I have helped their movement in my locality as much as I have been able to do, even though I do not look upon it as integral pacifism, therefore not fully satisfying.

But there must be many steps leading mankind from barbarism to some dignified evolution of the human spirit. As long as the Committee of 100 will not forsake this dignity for rough methods, they seem to me a body of people who are obedient beings, followers of an inner light which, after all, shines in many hearts. Let no one despise this section of the protestant spirit which may well prove one of the several wedges required to lift mankind from its morass of warfare.

No longer living in London, too old and too shaky in health anyway, I did not join, in body, the sit-down of February 18. Yet my heart was with the sitters, in a spirit of evolution towards true democracy, rather

THIS IS YOUR WORLD

Missiles for NATO

DR. DIRK U. STIKKER of the Netherlands, installed last week as new Secretary General of NATO, said that he hoped ways would be found to give NATO an independent nuclear striking force.

Dr. Stikker said that he had several ideas for making this possible. One is said to be a plan for delegating control to a NATO

life of dependence and frustration and derive mainly from the paramount claim of people hitherto subjugated to a feudal regime. *Mr. Doumbouya of Guinea, at UN, April 17. Quoted in I. F. Stone's Weekly.*

Ploughshares to swords

LAST week the US decided to convert the civilian "Programmes Evaluation Office" in Laos into a regular military advisory group and to increase its strength

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Sites for missiles

THE US Air Force, in choosing sites for many Atlas and Titan ballistic missile squadrons, appears to have ignored "the most elementary consideration of fall-out meteorology" and to have given "almost no consideration" to civilian hazards.

This was charged on April 18 by Dr. James E. McDonald, senior physicist of the Institute of Atmospheric Physics at the University of Arizona, speaking to a joint meeting of the American Geophysical Union and American Meteorology Society.

Missile sites are often up-wind from major population centres, thus exposing several millions to dangerous fall-out in the event of atomic attack. Dr. McDonald and a group of Arizona citizens have been protesting for more than a year, but no hearing or official explanation has been granted.

Is our face red?

STATES engaged in the decolonisation of their structure always discover, and are appalled by the fact that their economy is not adapted to the needs of their national life owing to foreign exploitation. Single crop economies are an essential characteristic of under-developed countries. A revolutionary government, in order to foster comprehensive economic development, is bound to alter the colonial shape of the productive system if it wishes to foster national output and the industrialisation of the country.

Contrary to accusations of communist infiltration which circulate everywhere as soon as an under-developed country engages in bold reforms, it should be known that the acts which succeed the assumption of power are the ineluctable consequences of a

life of dependence and frustration and derive mainly from the paramount claim of people hitherto subjugated to a feudal regime. *Mr. Doumboya of Guinea, at UN, April 17. Quoted in I. F. Stone's Weekly.*

Ploughshares to swords

LAST week the US decided to convert the civilian "Programmes Evaluation Office" in Laos into a regular military advisory group and to increase its strength from 250 to about 300. The military group will work on training and provide combat advisers for tactical units in the field.

President Kennedy told a press conference that he was thinking of sending Vice-President Johnson to South-East Asia on a special diplomatic mission. In the course of it he might visit Laos for meetings with officials in Vientiane.

Glory Hallelujah

IN observance of the American Civil War Centennial, celebrations of battles and engagements are being held all over the land.

Walt Whitman wrote, as an eye-witness, the following: "Among the wounded officers in the ambulances were one, a lieutenant of the regulars, and another of higher rank. These two were dragged out on the ground on their backs and were now surrounded by the guerrillas, a demoniac crowd, each member of which was stabbing them in different parts of their bodies. One of the officers had his feet pinned firmly to the ground by bayonets stuck through them and thrust into the ground. These two officers, as afterwards found on examination, had received about twenty such thrusts, some of them through the mouth, face, etc. The wounded had all been dragged (to give a better chance for plunder) out of their waggon; some had been effectually dispatched, and their bodies were lying there lifeless and bloody. Others, not yet dead but horribly mutilated, were moaning or groaning. Of our men who surrendered, most had been maimed or slaughtered."

That was not in Cuba or the Congo. Not even in Hungary.

Obsolete ban

NATIONALIST sources in Johannesburg said on April 15 that in view of the

treason trial judgment, in which all the accused were discharged, the present common law concept of treason based on Roman-Dutch principles is obsolete in South Africa.

It should, they say, be replaced by a new statutory definition aimed at safeguarding the security of the State as now constituted under white rule if threatened by systematic attempts to establish a "black regime."

★
US Defence contractors spend an estimated \$500,000,000 a year on advertising charged to the Federal Government, claims Senator Howard W. Cannon of Nevada. He suggests that the American public would be "highly displeased to learn that the beautiful four-colour printing exhibits which appear in our popular magazines and newspapers praising the wonders of a defence product, were actually paid for by their tax dollars."

A "reconciliation team" for Cuba has been held up since January by restrictions on travel to Cuba from the US. The venture was planned by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and last month their journal *Fellowship* reported that "the State Department was still wrestling with the knotty question of whether a visit to Cuba by a group of peacemakers would be in the best interests of the US."

But there must be many steps leading mankind from barbarism to some dignified evolution of the human spirit. As long as the Committee of 100 will not forsake this dignity for rough methods, they seem to me a body of people who are obedient beings, followers of an inner light which, after all, shines in many hearts. Let no one despise this section of the protestant spirit which may well prove one of the several wedges required to lift mankind from its morass of warfare.

No longer living in London, too old and too shaky in health anyway, I did not join, in body, the sit-down of February 18. Yet my heart was with the sitters, in a spirit of evolution towards true democracy, rather than seeking revolution.—**FRANCOISE DELISLE.**

Can you help on Saturday?

PEACE NEWS sellers are wanted this Saturday in London and Birmingham.

Peter Dodson will be on the Charing Cross side of Nelson's Column in Trafalgar Square from 1.30 p.m. on Saturday for the Committee of 100's demonstration.

In Birmingham, where there is to be a special street selling campaign and leaflet distribution in connection with the Peace Pledge Union's AGM, supplies will be available from 10 a.m. at the Imperial Hotel, Temple Street.

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DISARMAMENT AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

By Frank Allaun, MP

One speech on the recent Budget which received hardly any attention in the press was by Frank Allaun, the Labour MP for Salford East, who told the House of Commons last week:

THIS Budget stands condemned because it increases our fantastic expenditure on arms of £1,600,000,000 a year by a further £48,000,000. The Government are now spending six shillings of every pound of taxation on war preparations. Eighteen shillings of every pound spent by the Government on research goes on so-called defence work. The best scientific brains of our country are working in this field. . . .

What could not we do with this money? Instead of crippling the National Health Service, we could be extending it. Instead of raising pensions to the miserable figure of £2 17s. 6d. a week, we could be increasing them by pounds a week. Instead of the Government cutting council housing, more money could be spent on housing.

I feel very strongly about this matter because five out of ten houses in my constituency have no bath, no hot water, and

no inside toilet. That will be the position for years as things are. Yet we could solve the housing problem if we were not wasting our substance in this way. . . .

In these circumstances it is hypocrisy to talk about helping the underdog in Africa and Asia, where there are people who have not had a square meal in their lives and who are far poorer than the poorest in Britain, although there are plenty of poor people in Britain today. "War on Want" is just an empty slogan if we spend £1,600,000,000 a year on arms and increase it each year by £48,000,000 or similar sums.

Poverty abroad

We tend to talk about this knowing in our heart of hearts that we cannot relieve poverty in the under-developed countries if we spend the money on armaments. . . .

On nuclear weapons . . . approximately £250,000,000 a year is spent. We on the Labour side have our differences of view, but we are agreed that Britain should end its independent nuclear deterrent—all of us, from the Front Bench to the back benches. That would save £250,000,000 a year, and it would solve the problems that the Chancellor has to face.

The next point that I want to raise concerns Surtax. I believe that the Chancellor has committed an act of public indecency by reducing taxation on the very rich by £58,000,000 a year at the very time when it has been increased on the poor by £65,000,000 a year. This shows a lack of

'THEY'

They'll take from us the beauty of the night,
The healing darkness and the "large, few stars,"
Urbanise heaven in a rash of light
And make the moon a cockpit of their wars.
They'll taint the grass and everything that grows
Spontaneously, a daisy or the hills,
Dry up the rivers, whatever freely flows
From sources deeper than their deathward wills.
The idle dream, unmarked by any clock,
The seagull's grace, uplifted on the winds,
All poetry, all natural joy, they'll mock,
Unmanufactured in their ticking minds.
Sun and rain, flower, cloud and tree,
Soul's nourishment for poet or for fool,
Be a scorned, abecedarian reality
Too simple for the rigours of their rule.
And god and love and trust and hope and faith
Be banned, as disincentives to the goal
Of gaunt Perfection, like an iron wraith—
The final cure of man's pathetic soul!

J. MORGAN

One man's war

I am Lazarus, by Sven Berlin. Galley Press, 21s.

SVEN BERLIN'S account of his life in the army in the last war is a queer mixture of the excellent, the merely competent, and the pretentious. For it is pretentious to take as an epigraph T. S. Eliot's lines: "I am Lazarus come from the dead, Come back to tell you all, I shall tell you all . . ." and to follow it with a capable but mostly matter-of-fact narrative of his wartime experiences, which are interesting enough in their way, but in no important respect different from those of thousands of others who endured the excitement, the muddle and the beastliness of the battles following the invasion of Europe.

But eventually the great day came and CAGRA inspected us. For some reason I was chosen by the Captain to go round with him as part of the staff, which reversed the entire situation, because instead of being inspected I was inspecting, walking behind the Brigadier and the Colonel for which afterwards I

This was not, it appears, in any sense a moral decision: "I knew I was going to fight after resisting the war for three years. It was not a decision but an understanding. I moved in harmony with the years, had found the timing of my age: my pain was over." In other words, like a lot of other young men at the time, he hadn't the inner resources needed to carry his war-resistance through, and so succumbed to the powerful pressure of a deathward-set society.

In so doing, no doubt, he implicitly relinquished the possibility of evaluation, becoming immersed in the welter of disjunctive experiences which war characteristically is, for its participants. This would help to explain the formless character of I AM LAZARUS, its note-book quality being enhanced by the scattering of verses and

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On nuclear weapons . . . approximately £250,000,000 a year is spent. We on the Labour side have our differences of view, but we are agreed that Britain should end its independent nuclear deterrent—all of us, from the Front Bench to the back benches. That would save £250,000,000 a year, and it would solve the problems that the Chancellor has to face.

The next point that I want to raise concerns Surtax. I believe that the Chancellor has committed an act of public indecency by reducing taxation on the very rich by £58,000,000 a year at the very time when it has been increased on the poor by £65,000,000 a year. This shows a lack of sense of public decency.

If hon. Members opposite are concerned about social justice, what about the engineering labourer? It may shock some hon. Members to know that the basic rate of the engineering labourer is £8 4s. 2d. a week and for the skilled engineer £9 15s. 2d. It might be said that they can earn more by working overtime and getting bonus, but they have to put in the overtime and the hard work to get those extras.

Honest workers

There are thousands of good, honest workers who work as hard in their way as the man who was talked about earlier who gets orders for the country. Many are in a position where they can earn no overtime or bonus. When they have paid their health, unemployment and pensions insurance, they take home £7 14s. a week net.

When a man in that position learns from the papers that the Surtax payer is to be relieved of taxation in the way proposed by the Chancellor, what will he think? He will think that this is a Government which stands for the rich and against the poor. He will be dead right. . . . This will go down in history as a class Budget.

★

The next speaker was Mr. Edward du Cann, the Conservative MP for Taunton, who argued:

I for one do not grudge money spent on defence if it is wisely spent, any more than I grudge paying that part of my rates which goes to pay the police force which sees that I sleep securely in my bed at night.

Indeed, I would go as far as to say that I do not care how heavy the bill for defence is in Britain provided that Britain stays free. That is all that matters to me and, I believe, to the country.

matter-of-fact narrative of his wartime experiences, which are interesting enough in their way, but in no important respect different from those of thousands of others who endured the excitement, the muddle and the beastliness of the battles following the invasion of Europe.

But eventually the great day came and CAGRA inspected us. For some reason I was chosen by the Captain to go round with him as part of the staff, which reversed the entire situation, because instead of being inspected I was inspecting, walking behind the Brigadier and the Colonel, for which afterwards I was called a "bloody, bullshitting bastard."

Everyone got a bit nettled that I wangled out of so much—the Sergeant-Major in particular—and when it was announced at the end of the inspection that on the next day, which was Sunday, there was going to be a big thanksgiving service to commemorate the Falaise Gap, he pounced on the situation at once.

"Right. Every man jack of you will attend! No trying to scrounge your way out of it, do you understand? No going sick or getting on jankers. I won't stand for any of yer tricks. C of E, Methodists, Catholic, I don't care what the bloody hell you are, you're coming on this parade and will go to church and bloody well pray. And that doesn't exclude you, Bombardier Berlin. Do you understand?"

That hits off army life and army religion very well; but surely there needs no ghost come from the grave to tell us *this*?

NOT ENLIGHTENING

Still, this is an honest book, if not a very enlightening one, for, like most ex-soldier writers, Mr. Berlin is better at describing his experiences than at evaluating them. Just what the whole experience of war meant to him it is, from this book, difficult to say, unless it was a sense of solidarity with ordinary, inarticulate humanity.

Mr. Berlin is, it appears, a renegade pacifist; indeed, his opening chapter begins with the moment of his rejection of pacifism, which he equates with individualistic isolationism—a rejection partly brought about through an emotional tussle with an anti-Nazi German girl, which was "the very thing needed to crack the ice that had formed over my life and to set the flood of vitality going in the direction of humanity and war" (strange conjunction!)

It was not a decision but an understanding. I moved in harmony with the years, had found the timing of my age: my pain was over." In other words, like a lot of other young men at the time, he hadn't the inner resources needed to carry his war-resistance through, and so succumbed to the powerful pressure of a deathward-set society.

In so doing, no doubt, he implicitly relinquished the possibility of evaluation, becoming immersed in the welter of disjunctive experiences which war characteristically is, for its participants. This would help to explain the formless character of I AM LAZARUS, its note-book quality being enhanced by the scattering of verses and drawings throughout the text.

INVALIDED OUT

At the close, Mr. Berlin is invalided out with a damaged liver. He goes back to Cornwall, but finds his home has disintegrated in his absence, so he sails to the Western Islands and, the war being over, joins the Victory Carnival.

I joined the dancers and we danced deep into the night. When light spread from the Eastern Isles I was standing alone on the wet unearthly sand by the edge of the sea. The tumult had left me. Here was peace. Here I would begin to learn again the shapes of things and the way in which they had been created through the ages, dying and being reborn, touched by the hand of everlasting life. I lifted a sea-shell to my ear and I thought for a moment I could hear the far-off music of eternity. I was Lazarus come back from the dead.

Instead of evaluation, a pretentious gesture. It isn't difficult to think of the word his mates in the army would have applied to this purple passage; and they would have been right.

D. S. SAVAGE

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OPERATION GANDHI

This week Hugh Brock describes the form post-war civil disobedience took. The methods employed by the demonstrators were to help non-violent direct actionists for a decade.

IN 1940 the British Government felt it necessary—under the threat of penalties to stop distribution of a book on non-violent direct action. This was an indication of the powerful ideas presented by Bart de Ligt in his *CONQUEST OF VIOLENCE*.*

De Ligt, a many-times-imprisoned Dutch clergyman and friend and adviser of Aldous Huxley, died in 1938. He was one of those who quite early saw in Gandhi's non-violent resistance to the British army of occupation in India a vivid example of how war could be effectively resisted.

THE *CONQUEST OF VIOLENCE*, plus Richard Gregg's *POWER OF NON-VIOLENCE*, plus the No Conscription Fellowship's civil disobedience in World War 1, plus the Quaker tradition added up to a formidable challenge to the new-founded pacifist movement in the late Thirties and early Forties.

Study groups

Pacifist groups began to study this idea of non-violent resistance, urged on by Roy Walker in a series of *Peace News* articles in 1941 and aided by Dr. A. K. Jameson, Peace Pledge Union librarian and non-violence researcher.

Much of the early discussion took place in the atmosphere of Dunkirk and the threatening invasion of Britain—when the question of what a pacifist would do if ordered by a British or German soldier to hand over his bicycle or motor car might have to be answered within the next twenty-four hours.

The ground work on the subject had thus been done by 1949 when the Peace Pledge Union set up a Non-Violence Commission or study group for those members especially interested in the subject (two years earlier an AGM of the Union had declared that one of the movement's main purposes was "to initiate and encourage research and experiment in pacifism and non-violence").

with some indication of what can be done by individual or small group example in present circumstances.

3. The aims and methods of a non-violent foreign policy for Britain, with some indication of suitable individual or small group demonstrations practicable in present conditions.

For two years study and discussion went on, close contact being established with two parallel groups in the USA: CORE (The Congress of Racial Equality which was pioneering the sit-in movement) and Peacemakers, the revolutionary pacifist group which pioneered the way for the Committee of Non-Violent Action and Polaris Action.

The summer and autumn of 1951 saw pacifists involved in several dramatic direct action projects.

In Germany, where British and other pacifists were gathered for the Triennial Conference of the War Resisters' International, a group of delegates from ten countries decided to go down to the banks of the river Werra which separated the US Zone of Germany where they were meeting, from the Soviet Zone, and attempt to talk to people in the Eastern Zone about non-violence and war resistance.

The authorities in Bonn refused the war resisters permission to make the crossing, but two members of the Non-Violent Commission, Mary Barr and Kathleen Rawlins insisted on going, even if this meant imprisonment. A final appeal the two had made to Bonn resulted in permission being granted and the meeting with villagers in East Germany eventually took place.

Further south, in the Soviet Zone of Austria, four Americans from the Peacemakers group (among them Bill Sutherland, later to help pioneer the Sahara protest team with Michael Scott and Michael Randle and join in founding the Ghana CND) gave out leaflets to Soviet soldiers.

"The US you hear of most often," said the text in Russian, "is the US of far-flung military bases, of atom bombs, of American dollars to bribe Europe into rearmament. We are from another United States, a US of persons who want peace and friendship."



A lorry from Trawsfynydd Army Camp meets a group of Welsh Nationalists using the methods practised by Mahatma Gandhi in resisting British aggression in India.

3. The withdrawal of Britain from the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation;
4. The disbanding of the British Armed Forces.

Those taking part in what they termed "Operation Gandhi" had to be "willing to face imprisonment, loss of income and other hardships."

Seven possible places for a sit-down were discussed: Grosvenor Square, Whitehall, Fleet Street, Ruislip (US military HQ), A Labour Exchange on National Service Registration Day, House of Commons, Harwell.

In the event a call to action went out for a sit down outside the War Office on January 11, 1952 in which the following twelve

people announced their intention of taking part:

Gwyneth Anderson, Olwen Battersby, Hugh Brock, Esma Burrough, David Hoggett, Connie Jones, Bill Lowe, Harry Mister, Mazella Newman, D. A. O'Duffy, Godfrey Plummer, Rufus de Pinto, Kathleen Rawlins and Doris Wheeler.

In the month between December 12, 1951, and January 11, 1952, they hammered out with other members of the Non-Violence Commission methods of demonstrating which were to help non-violent direct actionists for a decade to come.

NEXT WEEK

From the War Office to Aldermaston.

THE MOVEMENT IN BIRMINGHAM

By Sidney White

MEMBERS of the Peace Pledge Union coming to Birmingham for their Annual General Meeting this weekend were advised not to buy a plan of the city centre. If it is accurate when the meetings start on Saturday morning, it will almost certainly be out of date when they end on Sunday after-

ingham. They were there—so were members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Co-op. Guilds, so, too, were the members of the youth CND.

Youth in Birmingham has taken up the struggle against the Bomb in a big way. The now famous coffin "Bury the Bomb, not Mankind," is entitled to carry an even

threatening invasion of Britain—when the question of what a pacifist would do if ordered by a British or German soldier to hand over his bicycle or motor car might have to be answered within the next twenty-four hours.

The ground work on the subject had thus been done by 1949 when the Peace Pledge Union set up a Non-Violence Commission or study group for those members especially interested in the subject (two years earlier an AGM of the Union had declared that one of the movement's main purposes was "to initiate and encourage research and experiment in pacifism and non-violence").

Ray Walker drew up the following terms of reference for the Non-Violence Commission, which, unknown at the time, contained the seeds of the Aldermaston March and the Swaffham rocket base demonstration.

He charged the groups to examine:

1. The place of non-violence in pacifist faith or philosophy, its day to day and emergency methods, relationship between them, appropriate types of self-discipline and public demonstration.
2. The basic pattern of a non-violent economy for Britain having regard to the rights and needs of all other peoples,

* *Not to be confused with a later book with the same title by Joan V. Bondurant, OUP 32s. 6d.*

CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

(South London Branch)

A TRAINING COURSE FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIALISTS

Saturday, May 6, 3 p.m.

'WORLD GOVERNMENT'

Speaker: John Bowyer

Saturday, May 27, 3 p.m.

'INTERNATIONAL PEACE—THE CHRISTIAN PACIFIST CONTRIBUTION'

Speaker: Max Parker (FoR)

Lecture Hall, Clapham Baths, Clapham Manor Street, London, S.W.4 (Nr. Clapham Common and Clapham North Tube Stations)

Please keep this for reference Admission free

made to Bonn resulted in permission being granted and the meeting with villagers in East Germany eventually took place.

Further south, in the Soviet Zone of Austria, four Americans from the Peace-makers group (among them Bill Sutherland, later to help pioneer the Sahara protest team with Michael Scott and Michael Randle and join in founding the Ghana CND) gave out leaflets to Soviet soldiers.

"The US you hear of most often," said the text in Russian, "is the US of far-flung military bases, of atom bombs, of American dollars to bribe Europe into rearmament. We are from another United States, a US of persons who want peace and friendship and economic equality throughout the world...."

They called on the Russian soldiers, as they had on the peoples of the other countries through which they had passed to:

1. Refuse to serve in the armed forces;
2. Refuse to transport or make weapons of war;
3. Organise a collective non-violent resistance movement;
4. Refuse to hate or kill anyone.

The other action was in Wales, where a group of 70 staged a protest against the seizure of land by the War Office with a sit-down which effectively bottled up an army camp.

Almost crushed

Peace News reported an enraged officer ordering a soldier to drive his lorry into the human barrier. The soldier refused, stopping the vehicle just as it was about to crush the legs of Gwynfor Evans, a prominent Welsh pacifist and President of the Welsh Party.

Against this background, the Non-Violence Commission discussed at its meeting on December 12, 1951, "the danger of the British public getting more and more used to the fact that the American Air Force was occupying this country, and that atomic weapons were actually now manufactured on British soil."

They went on to discuss a programme for direct action with the following aims;

1. The withdrawal of American forces at present in this country;
2. The stoppage of the manufacture of atomic weapons in Britain;

THE MOVEMENT IN BIRMINGHAM

By Sidney White

MEMBERS of the Peace Pledge Union coming to Birmingham for their Annual General Meeting this weekend were advised not to buy a plan of the city centre. If it is accurate when the meetings start on Saturday morning, it will almost certainly be out of date when they end on Sunday afternoon, so rapid and thorough are the changes now taking place.

If it is necessary to enquire the way, ask a bus conductor, he will know even if he does hail from the Caribbean or Pakistan or Ireland or from almost any country in the world. The Birmingham International Centre, situated appropriately in John Bright Street, claims that since it started in 1942 it has had members from more than thirty nationalities.

The largest single group of arrivals is from the West Indies, and Birmingham—living up to its motto "Forward"—prepared itself to receive them. The Education Committee, the political and trade union organisations, the churches and many voluntary groups saw this immigration as a challenge. While it is true that all difficulties and problems did not melt away, serious trouble was avoided by this joint action.

This tendency to spontaneous, almost involuntary, co-operation is the outstanding characteristic of the peace movement in the city. As evidence of this, it is significant that the Secretary of the Trades Council, the Chairman of CND, the Chairman of Friend's Peace Committee, the Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union, and the Chairman of the Birmingham branch of the National Peace Council are not merely known to each other but are known by Christian names. After all, they were together in 1955 in support of a magnificent campaign to abolish the death penalty.

They were together again when the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament was born. They, or their members, were there when the Bishop of Birmingham, Dr. Wilson, spoke at the start of a march round the city's Inner Circle Bus Route, a demonstration staged to show the citizens how much of their city would be completely destroyed if one H-bomb fell on the centre of Birm-

ingham. They were there—so were members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Co-op. Guilds, so, too, were the members of the youth CND.

Youth in Birmingham has taken up the struggle against the Bomb in a big way. The now famous coffin "Bury the Bomb, not Mankind," is entitled to carry an even more famous label "Made in Birmingham."

On Hiroshima day the young people kept a 24-hour vigil in the centre of the city and later on another one outside the American Consulate. Twice during the last six weeks Earl Russell has visited the city to address meetings arranged by the Youth.

□ ON BACK PAGE

for all
news and
views on
the
campaign
against
nuclear
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BIRMINGHAM

□ FROM PAGE SEVEN

All these groups are to be seen together when the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament arranges a demonstration. They and many more are seen one at a time by members of the West Midland's Area Committee of the PPU film unit. During February and March of this year the unit was in operation on 22 occasions: visiting schools, old scholars' associations, youth clubs of very varying kinds, trade unions, Co-op, Guilds and meetings arranged by political parties, the churches and CND. The unit includes not only a projectionist but a speaker on pacifism.

The great need now is for attractive literature to sell or give away so that the impact of the films can be consolidated. CND literature sells well, but the other organisations are a long way behind.

The contacts with churches made by the visit of the film unit is helping Friends Peace Committee and the Fellowship of Reconciliation to get invitations to send speakers and "Any Questions" teams to congregational meetings. The Free Church Federal Council has called a series of meetings to consider the churches' attitude to war in this nuclear age and has invited each "Free Church" to send two delegates.

More workers

Opportunities for spreading the peace message are multiplying continually. The great, indeed, the desperate need is for more workers. The Joint Pacifist Committee has not met, because the convenor is fully stretched with all his other activities. Is there any Birmingham reader who could help?

LONDON

SIT-DOWN ASSEMBLY PLANS NOW COMPLETE

Peace News Reporter

MESSAGES OF SUPPORT FROM JAPAN AND AUSTRALIA. BAYARD RUSTIN OF AMERICAN WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE TO SPEAK. ASSEMBLY MEETS IN ATMOSPHERE OF GROWING INTERNATIONAL TENSION.

Plans made by the Committee of 100 to hold a Public Assembly in Parliament Square, tomorrow (Saturday) are now complete. Almost 5,000 briefing documents and legal briefings have been sent to supporters.

The briefing document explains that the intention is to "occupy" the whole of Parliament Square and the Secretary of the Committee (Michael Randle) feels reasonably confident that this in fact can be done. It requires demonstrators to fill the roads surrounding the green square as well as actually sitting in the middle.

Once more emphasis has been laid on the need not to respond to provocation of any kind. To resist violence by sitting down whenever this seems likely to break out. Quite plainly the attempt to "occupy" Parliament Square will be a major act of civil disobedience, and the Committee have taken every precaution to ensure the ideals of non-violence shall have the maximum opportunity to prevail.

It has become necessary to issue another leaflet and a print of 50,000 has been made. The leaflet is entitled "CRISIS" and calls attention to the Cuban and Algerian crises. The message is that the points of crisis could easily lead to a nuclear war, and it is necessary for people to act now before it is too late.

In talking to PN about this leaflet Michael Randle pointed out that the French workers had taken direct action on Monday when literally millions staged a token strike for one hour in protest against the action of the Algerian Generals. Here (he said) was a case where people can take action which informs would be rulers that they cannot take for granted the people's wish to fight their battles for them.

This atmosphere of international tension and crisis has given the demonstration on Saturday a much sharper edge. The demonstration is to be an international one as far as possible and messages of support have

so far been received from Japan and Australia. Bayard Rustin, Executive Secretary of the War Resisters League in America, is to be one of the principal speakers in Trafalgar Square. The Committee are hoping to have other international speakers and messages of support. The Assembly is to demand:

- ★ **Unilateral nuclear disarmament by Britain.**
- ★ **The withdrawal of Polaris and other nuclear bases from Britain.**
- ★ **The use of money and resources now squandered on nuclear weapons for constructive purposes.**

The Committee have been notified by the police that certain roads in the area are

Holy Loch March nears Border

From PAT ARROWSMITH

IT is often difficult to estimate what impact the march is making. In Sheffield, for instance, the factory workers' "rally" to greet the marchers as they went through to Rotherham seemed on the surface a failure. It was raining and no more than about 30 workers were present to supplement the 70 to 80 marchers assembled on the bomb site where the meeting was held.

Yet perhaps this gathering was more significant than many of the marchers themselves realised. For the workers had all come out of work half-an-hour or an hour

likely to be closed to traffic and that any obstruction caused on that day is likely to lead to penalties under the Act of 1839. Penalties for deliberately violating the regulation are to a maximum fine of forty shillings. Michael Randle told *Peace News* that this was much as the Committee expected and they would not be deterred from doing what they have announced. The police had taken similar action prior to February 18.

Permission for the use of Trafalgar Square has now been given by the Ministry of Works and there is to be a meeting before the march to Parliament Square. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament are to hold a supporting demonstration. Full details have not been released. However, they are asking their supporters to rally in Trafalgar Square at 2 p.m. and will give directions from the plinth. It is also expected that one of the principal speakers in Trafalgar Square will be a Campaign leader.

early as a deliberate protest against the Polaris base. A number of them were shop stewards, officially representing the shop stewards' committee of three factories in the area.

These factories had all been leafleted in advance and discussion of the Bomb issue had been promoted on the shop floor. So although there was no mass turn out for a rally, numerous informal conversations had no doubt been held within the factories about the march and nuclear disarmament.

In Leeds a numerically more striking factory gate meeting was held during a sunny lunch hour. Some 300 workers from a number of factories gathered round to

Where to join them

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Tomorrow (Saturday): Leave Darlington Market

congregational meetings. The Free Church Federal Council has called a series of meetings to consider the churches' attitude to war in this nuclear age and has invited each "Free Church" to send two delegates.

More workers

Opportunities for spreading the peace message are multiplying continually. The great, indeed, the desperate need is for more workers. The Joint Pacifist Committee has not met because the convenor is fully stretched with all his other activities. Is there any Birmingham reader who could help?

No mention of peace work in Birmingham would be complete without a tribute to the Warley Institutional Church, whose members give outstanding wholehearted support to the pacifist cause. Nor must we forget the Women's International League now about to enter on a fresh period of activity, or War on Want, where hardest work lies ahead.

Interpreter wanted

An interpreter speaking Russian and/or Polish is being sought by the American-European march. He need not necessarily be one of the walkers, though this would be preferable. Volunteers should contact April Carter at the European Office, 87 Chancery Lane, London, W.C.2.

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is necessary for people to act now before it is too late.

In talking to PN about this leaflet Michael Randle pointed out that the French workers had taken direct action on Monday when literally millions staged a token strike for one hour in protest against the action of the Algerian Generals. Here (he said) was a case where people can take action which informs would be rulers that they cannot take for granted the people's wish to fight their battles for them.

This atmosphere of international tension and crisis has given the demonstration on Saturday a much sharper edge. The demonstration is to be an international one as far as possible and messages of support have

SCOTLAND

A contrast of conferences

From our Glasgow Correspondent

LAST week the Scottish Unionists (Conservatives) at Ayr affirmed that "The Scottish people have no desire to shirk their contribution to the alliance on which the security of the free world depends and welcomes the Government's decision to provide supply facilities in the Holy Loch for American Polaris - carrying submarines.

The only dissenting voice to this motion proposed to temper the word "welcomes" to "approves." This was ruled out of order by the Chairman who had not been given notice of the amendment. No hand was raised against the motion when it was put to the vote.

But in Rothesay, the Scottish Trades Union Congress adopted overwhelmingly the Cousins line—no missile bases in this country, an end to nuclear weapon testing and manufacture—and also called for the removal of the Holy Loch base. Open calls for industrial action to achieve this aim were made by speakers from the rostrum.

Events are crystallising alignments. The Scottish Unionists are putting up a brave rearguard action for the cat, the birch and the Polaris missile, while Labour's rank and file are beginning to realise that unilateralism is a hopeful and realistic political platform. The Liberals know this already.

Frank Cousins speaks at the May Day Rally in Glasgow on Sunday, May 7, while Michael Foot speaks at Dunoon on May 14

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Yet perhaps this gathering was more significant than many of the marchers themselves realised. For the workers had all come out of work half-an-hour or an hour

at a demonstration sponsored by Glasgow City Labour Party, Trades Council and Co-operative Party. Steamers are being chartered and 7,000 are expected to take part. The following weekend the London to Holy Loch marchers arrive in Glasgow and move on towards the Proteus. They will receive a much warmer welcome than seemed likely a month ago. It looks as though there is going to be a Nuclear Disarmament Fortnight in Scotland from May 7 to May 21, culminating at the Holy Loch.

SANE AND SINCERE

The Scottish *Daily Mail* on Monday, April 24, carried a not unsympathetic story datelined "On the Road to the Holy Loch." After detailing the tribulations of the marchers, it ended:

"The 25 hard-core marchers of the Direct Action Committee on Nuclear Disarmament whose trials I am sharing believe that Britain can afford to dispense with the H-bomb because the moral leadership gained would outweigh the loss to the Western cause of an H-bomb base. That is their point of view. I don't necessarily share it. But let me say this about the marchers in case you feel like laughing them off. They are sane, sincere people, easy to get along with. They have guts."

News Picture of the Week in the Scotsman week-end magazine showed two canoeists dwarfed by the massive bow of the Proteus to which they were clinging as she sailed out on exercise.

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Tomorrow (Saturday): Leave Darlington Market Place 8 a.m.; arrive Stockton, to be met by Trades Council delegation 1 p.m.; arrive West Hartlepool 7.30 p.m.

April 30 (Sunday): Leave West Hartlepool 9 a.m.; arrive Sunderland 6 p.m.

May 1 (Monday): Leave Sunderland 8 a.m.; arrive Newcastle 4.30 p.m.

May 2 (Tuesday): Leave Newcastle 9 a.m.; arrive Morpeth 4.30 p.m.

May 3 (Wednesday): Leave Morpeth 9 a.m.; arrive Alnwick 6.20 p.m.

May 4 (Thursday): Leave Alnwick 10.45 a.m.; arrive Belford 6 p.m.

May 5 (Friday): Leave Belford 10.45 a.m.; arrive Berwick 6 p.m.

May 6 (Saturday): Rest day in Berwick.

May 7 (Sunday): Leave Berwick 8.30 a.m., crossing border at 9.45 a.m. welcome by delegations. Arrive Cockburnspath 7.20 p.m.

hear speeches from the marchers, the Secretary of Leeds Trades Council and the convenor of one of the shop stewards' committees. About 30 of them prolonged their lunch hour by 15 minutes or so in response to a call from the Trades Council Secretary.

The impact of the march and of the necessary hard work put in by local people beforehand has led to the revival of a defunct Wakefield CND group and the formation of a new group in Thirsk. Two marchers had a lively discussion with pro-Gaitskell minded Young Socialists in Barnsley, some of whom now wish to start a YCND group, and a spontaneous market square meeting in Ripon got some grammar school teenagers interested in the idea of starting the YCND group there.

One of the marchers' chief problems is how not to be rude to their hosts. Very often the welcoming local CND groups quite naturally assume that London to Holy Loch marchers will be sufficiently tired and hungry on arrival at their destination for the night that all they will want to do will be to go straight off to supper, bath and bed.

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INSURRECTION IN ALGIERS

Roy Sherwood on the
military revolt

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DISARMAMENT AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

The speech by Frank Allaun, MP,
in the House of Commons

on the Budget

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NEXT WEEK'S PEACE NEWS

The centenary of the birth of Rabin-
dranath Tagore, India's—and the
world's—poet of peace, will be com-
memorated in *Peace News* next week.

R. R. Diwakar, the distinguished
Indian scholar and writer, will recall
the life of the man described by
Gandhi as India's "Great Sentinel."
Horace Alexander, the English Quaker
who was closely associated with Nehru
and Gandhi in the freedom struggle,
writes of Tagore's impact on India and
the nations of the West.

The issue will also contain a full
report and pictures of the Committee
of 100's demonstration this weekend,
and Alan Lovell's monthly column on
the cinema.

In a forthcoming issue Gerald Hol-
tum will be writing about the meaning
of the "ND" symbol which he de-
signed for the Aldermaston March and
which today is being used by national
movements in Denmark, Holland, Ger-
many, New Zealand, Norway and the
USA.

A POLICY

An Editorial

**LORD HOME IS BRITAIN'S FOREIGN SECRETARY. WE NEED TO
REMINDE OURSELVES OF THIS BECAUSE UNTIL A FEW MONTHS
AGO HE WAS AS UNKNOWN AS HIS DISARMAMENT POLICIES
STILL ARE TODAY.**

Since taking office he has contented himself in his public utterances with
Cold War speeches in the Dulles-Stalin tradition—and little else.

Anti-Communism, however, is not a
policy. Of course, it may be that his
Lordship is merely a parrot with no
say in policy-making, taking refuge in
patriotism. But if so it comes rather
poorly from him to criticise those who
are thinking for themselves.

Follies

For this is what he has just done at the
annual conference of the Scottish Unionist
Association at Ayr. At the end of an all-
too-typical Tory discussion on "defence,"
in which each speaker vied with the others
in finding phrases to hide the realities of
the situation, Lord Home wound up by
going one better. He decided to warn the
unilateralists and the young of the follies
of their ways:

"If, as I believe, the young among the
Holy Loch canoeists and Aldermaston
marchers are protesting against the
nuclear age in which a Bomb could end
their prospects in a moment of time, I am
with them. If they want to outlaw war,
I am with them, too, passionately so, but
I must ask them to remember some
history."

The person who writes Lord Home's
speeches then went on to get his facts
wrong about the peace ballot in the Thir-
ties. We don't propose to waste time setting
out the facts again, because in terms of the
development of warfare the Thirties are
very ancient history indeed. What worries
us far more is that Lord Home has clearly
learned nothing from the last 15 years.

"This country," says the Foreign Secre-
tary, "if it wants security, can never fall
down on its military obligations." But if
Lord Home could look at the Cold War
with an independent mind he might see that



Lord Home

security is further away than ever—thanks
to military commitments. And few people
seriously believe that we shall be safer when
our "military obligations" have taken the
world to the next stage in the arms race and
every nation from Germany to South Africa
and Israel to Japan has its own stockpile of
nuclear weapons.

His Lordship also reminded his audience
discreetly that the latest Bombs, such as the
Polaris missile system, are "second strike"
weapons which can only be used for re-
venge—after the British are all dead.

The excuse for all this was the magic

word "deterrent." Nuclear weapons were
"horrible," but the "plain fact" was that
their "purpose was to stop war, and they
had "kept the peace."

It is quite true that many things have
happened in recent years which in "con-
ventional" days would unquestionably have
meant world war. This has not developed
because of the deterrent effect of modern
weapons. But there is another side to the
deterrent argument.

Weapons are not only a deterrent, but an
incitement to others to pursue the arms race
until it develops an uncontrollable momen-
tum of its own. In the long run, conse-
quently, they defeat their own purpose. In
the end "the guns go off on their own" (if
we're talking about remembering history).

Gamble

Nuclear weapons, moreover, are a
stupendous gamble. No solution to our
present predicament is infallible, but the
failure of Lord Home's methods will destroy
our civilisation. There are other positive
risks more worth taking.

We realise that the Foreign Secretary is
His Master's Voice and that he is "only
obeying orders" as Eichmann and Powers
put it. But Lord Home has some questions
to answer:

- What major arms race has not ended
in war?
- What is he free to do to stop the
spread of nuclear weapons?
- How does he propose to persuade the
majority of neutral and uncommitted man-
kind that Soviet Bombs are a menace but
Western Bombs a blessing?
- How can he expect people to have con-
fidence in multilateral disarmament when
the West withdrew its proposals in the mid-
Fifties as soon as the Russians accepted
them?
- What can he do as Foreign Secretary
tomorrow if there were troop movements on
the German frontier—except destroy all his
fellow-countrymen?